1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

Most women were discouraged from practicing shamanism until after childbearing age, and the prowess they could attain after such a late start never gave them important standing. As in White society, women doctors usually confined themselves to obstetrics and children's diseases.

Shamans did not always wait for a vision. The neurotic boy might receive one early and might or might not venture to follow it. The determined man would go to seek it. The usual possibilities of scalping, eagle killing, and salt gathering were open to him, and shamanistic dreams are reported from all these experiences. Scalping, however, usually brought war power and the salt pilgrimage, though very effective, was too infrequent. The simplest expedient was the killing of an eagle.

A shaman of the writer's acquaintance killed four successive eagles in as many summers while acquiring his power or, in other words, making up his mind to the hazards of a shamanistic career. The spirits of the dead birds came to him according to pattern, and the first merely told him how to make reed tubes for the game of hidden ball. He became a successful gambler, but, not satisfied, he tried again the next summer.

The eagle came again looking like a man. He took me to a place where the sun lay on the ground, with a palisade of stakes around it. He said: "Get in." I did. Then we both stood in the sun. After that, we rose in spirals to the upper darkness. It was full of snakes. We passed through them and came to some houses, facing north. The guide asked me to sleep in one, but I refused. He said: "Where will you sleep?" I said: "At home." It seemed there was no way to get home, but the guide showed me a hidden gate. So I went out by it and home.

This vision gave the dreamer a conviction that he was to be supernatural experiences. So the next summer he killed another eagle. This time the visions taught him a series of songs. They concerned supernatural experiences and were to be used to induce a state of trance, but did not refer to any special power.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

shaman began to think about his pay and some introduced hints into their songs. One is reported to have sung:

Don't give me beads,
I am not young and handsome.
Give me a horse; a horse!

A horse or cow was the usual pay, and the family generally brought in a piece of manure to indicate what it would be. If diagnosis were difficult, the shaman might have to sing on other nights (four was the ritual number) before he earned his pay. Usually before dawn he announced what curing singer must be sent for, or else he himself sucked out the disease object. Some shamans did not suck, "because they did not have it in their dreams." They merely recommended that another shaman be called.

If the specialists he had recommended produced no result, a shaman would diagnose again, without further pay. He might thus recommend several curing singers in succession, and if all failed, the blame was not theirs, but his. That such happenings were not infrequent is evidenced by the Papago slang term for shaman, which is "liar."

THE FEMALE SHAMAN

The myths occasionally mention a female shaman who was more powerful and whose magic succeeded where that of her male colleagues had failed. In practice, the writer heard of but few female shamans, and these held a very subordinate position. Denied any connection with shamanism until after childbearing age, women often became herbalists,[1] and then drifted into a limited shamanism by means of a vision or two. As with white women doctors, circumstances often pushed them into specializing in children's diseases.

One woman known to the writer practiced a peculiar form of herb therapy which might have seemed her own idiosyncrasy had it not turned out to be an ancient Asiatic practice.[2] This was pressing an

[1] See p. 30. [i.e., read p. 30n. 4a.] [2] Balogün, Ishor, p. 388.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

his sons formed a friendly group in which custom demanded that his should be the deciding voice. But if a son was recalcitrant, no father would take such strong measures as to oust him from the family land or otherwise discipline him. The attitude of most fathers was one of extreme protectiveness: "My son has moved away to get more land but I'll be watching him. As soon as he has any trouble, I'll be right there. I have to help him: he's my child" (2). The Papago attitude toward a son is so different from the Hebrew attitude of proprietorship that a Papago being told about the atonement protested: "A God who would let his own son be killed cannot be my God. No father should do that."

A father's attitude toward his daughter was far less intimate, for she was part of the female group and received her instruction from her mother. But she listened to his moral discourse at night and was lectured on important occasions. It was his responsibility to see that she was a desirable citizen and one informant thought that in old days a father who failed to see that his daughter was segregated at the menstruation period would be whipped. The father, with the mother's help, selected a husband for her and made the proposal. After that he handed her training over to her father-in-law. Sometimes he retained his protective attitude toward her, summoning her at harvest to help herself from his field, (I. 4. A. 1) and sometimes carrying her gifts. (No. 2 takes meat seventeen miles to his married daughter whenever he kills a beef.) If she was widowed or divorced, she returned and he again assumed responsibility for her (I. 2. H. 3). But also, if he had no sons, he might call on his daughters' husbands to help him and even if they had lands of their own, they and their wives did him service (I. 7. C).

This responsibility of the father for the patriarchal family had not, in the memory of informants, any connection with the sib as a whole. Yet the sib term, used instead of a father title, might indicate that he was a sib head, even embodied the sib like the Macpherson or the O'Donohue. But we have mentioned before how little connection the sib has with Papago life. The use of a sib title in the kin term is in direct variance with the system of terminology. There are traces here of two incompatible customs and Papago usage seems to correspond with the majority of the kin terms in ignoring sib.

The mother, who was the head of the female group, had her most intimate companionship with her daughters. She and they were constantly together until the daughters married and their place in the female group was taken by daughters-in-law. Her sons were always occupied with the men but they were members of the home group and she cooked and cared for them perhaps until her death.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

If she was widowed, her husband's house was torn down and she lived with one of the sons. The most responsible of the latter then headed the family group and she, like the daughters accepted his decisions. When informant 26 was married against her will her mother took her side but "could say nothing against the men" her son and cousin. Again the difference in sex, which is marked in Papago life, is only partially expressed in the terms.

STEP PARENT CLASS. The step parent is assumed to be the junior aunt or uncle and is called by that term while he uses the reciprocal. Step parents are received very easily into the family. If not actually relatives, real or classificatory, they are still treated as such and given the corresponding place in the family group.

UNCLE CLASS. Tradition picked out the senior uncle as a special guide and mentor. The ceremonial guardian of a man undergoing purification called his protegé by the same term as would a senior paternal uncle or aunt and in rituals where the raingods are represented as addressing human beings, they also use the term. It would seem to point toward a specially protective attitude of the senior uncle and perhaps to his being chosen as a ceremonial godfather. At present there is no such practice nor remembrance of it. Behavior toward the senior uncle, who may once have been a godfather, and the junior uncle, who might be a stepfather, show the same intimate respect and if a maternal uncle or a distant uncle happened to join the family group, this behavior would be extended to him also (I. 4. B. and C; I. 1. F).

All uncles felt it their duty to admonish a child. "When I am with my uncle he always talks serious, telling me how to behave," (27). "If an uncle is left alone with a boy, of course he preaches to him. That is what he has to do" (22). "In the old days, people knew what was right because, besides their fathers, they had all their uncles to talk to them" (5).

An uncle took this leading position even if he was no older than his nephews. I. 4. E. 1 had nephews even older than himself but acted always as their head and protector. He looked after their rabbit when he was six and they six. When his older siblings went to cactus camp, he was the one left at home to take care of their children. He arranged the chores for his nephews and imposed their renewals by a mere command. His status continued into adult life.

The same obligations might fall to a maternal uncle or to a distant uncle if he happened to form part of the family group. I. 8. E. 1 arranged a marriage for his classificatory niece with a man as old as himself and this man has respectfully taken his orders ever since.

Nephews owed an uncle help and support almost as if he were a

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 9 NU28 Papago NU28

602 Any sibling of the grandparents was treated much like a grandparent, provided he lived in the home group. Many houses have several dependent old people of this sort addressed briefly as grandparent, without the suffix old man or old woman which indicates a grandparental sibling. In such a case, it is almost impossible to tell by behavior which is the grandparent and which a collateral.

The grandparents in the mother's line normally lived in another village and could be seen only on visits. But these visits might last a long time (I. 1) and also there were many reasons why a mother might return to her own parents. Then the one would take the same position as teacher and nurse which was normally occupied by the father's parents (I. 3. C. 5).

GREAT GRAND PARENT AND GREAT GRANDPARENT CLASS

603 The more ancient relatives existed only as dependents, cared for in any family which could find room for them. Their unimportance is expressed by the fact that, in their titles, no distinction is made as to sex or line and the remotest, the great great grandparents, are called by the children "younger siblings" in allusion, one informant thought, to their second childhood.

SPOUSE CLASS

562 Though the man was the head of the family and residence was 462 at his village, there was much emphasis, in domestic field of activity and, of the spouses. Each was supreme in a specific not participate without in many phases of ceremonial life, one could direct the men and his the other. At home labor, the patriarch plant and cultivated crops; wife the women. He disposed of gifts of food relatives of both shared the of cooked food and wild crops and the factor of propinquity. equally in the distribution, subject to the

The wives were not frequent except with older men who had 564 acquired the goods to support them. were usually sisters and, In this case there was no formal ceremonial ance of the older. They assigned their work and distributed gifts in committee and the husband accepted their joint decisions. wives who were not related were expected to fit into the above pattern although the colloquial term "she of whom I am jealous" shows that they did not always do it. But there was no hard and fast rule for precedence of the senior wife. The women of the household were left democratically, to settle their troubles between them.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Though women had few ceremonial duties of their own, the obligations of a husband often reflected on his wife, or wives, automatically, thus emphasizing the unity of the spouses. When a man was ceremonially purified, a wife went through the same ordeal mitigated only slightly because of her sex. At its end, she had the title of "ripe". Her relatives automatically shared her blessing and her danger and, to protect themselves they abstained from salt and bathed every four days. A list of affinals purified with I. I. A. 1 is as follows: wife, wife's parents, wife's father's brother, wife's siblings in another village, with their spouses and children. The others were far away or "they would have been purified too."

Yet this close relationship depended on the birth of a child to the young couple. After that event, the new spouse was known by affinals as "father of my grandchild", "mother of my elder brother's child", etc. In the absence of a child there was no word available but "that young man" or that "young woman."

Death or divorce did not prevent the use of kinship terms, since these depended on the child, but they often broke up economic relationships and the ceremonial ties which derived from them. On the death of a spouse, the levirate and sororate might come into play and then all relationships remained unchanged. But these rules were by no means inviolable. If a wife died and her sister did not replace her, the children normally remained in the husband's home group, cared for by his parents. If a husband died, the wife returned to her own home group taking, at least, the young children. But if she were old and her sons able to care for her, she might remain where she was.

Gift giving relationships with the affinals depended on whether the widowed spouse was within geographic reach. One family group shows the dead wife's relative as being within the intimate economic circle since they had land there. (I. 5. D. E). No purification is recorded for this family so we cannot tell whether a ceremonial tie was felt also.

There is no record of gifts to geographically distant affinals after a spouse's death but relatives would, if possible, remember the children and visit them occasionally. Such children could come back for help if they failed to get any group of their own. In divorce, conditions were much the same. The woman left the man's house and probably married into a new family group so that the old economic arrangements were necessarily broken up. All her ties, economic and ceremonial, were with the new group.

These instances show that, in Papago kin behavior, sex is always important since men and women work and play in sex limited

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Like the war leader, this ceremonial official might have a younger assistant to lead the cheering and argue the possible fouls. The women contestants had a woman for this function "since it would not be right for a woman to argue with a man."

SONG LEADER

A man with a loud voice and a memory for songs was chosen to lead the communal singing, particularly at the liquor fermentation. He usually asked certain good singers to stand next to him and head the line.

THE COUNCIL

In every village, or even where two or three families were camping together, a nightly men's meeting was held. This was the real governing power of the community. It decided on communal activities: agricultural work, hunts, war, the dates of ceremonies, games with other villages. It approved the installation of a chief or of new residents in the village. "And if there was nothing to discuss, they would come together and talk." (21). Men reported whether they had seen tracks of enemies or of deer. Visitors from other villages were welcomed and questioned.

Attendance was a duty for every man and in the myths a man who absented himself was dealt with by a deputation. There was no point at which a boy became officially eligible but when he seemed old enough to understand and wanted to go, some older relative would take him. Women were not admitted but when something interesting was discussed, they would stand outside and listen. "But we didn't do it much, because our husbands came home and told us." According to two informants, the shaman was excluded as a possible sorcerer (1).

There was a distinction between the men who formed the actual deliberative body and the listeners. The word s'tcu-amitcu't, means wise, or able. It was not an official title but was applied to men who had shown themselves fit to take part in the council. In some villages these were selected by the Keeper of the Meeting (15, 11), who would test a promising mature man by having him make extempore, one of the usual speeches of admonition and seeing if he remembered all the points (21). "He must have good judgment and a quick understanding of what is said. The old men were always looking out for people like that." In some villages no man was expected to speak unless he were a "ripe man", that is, had been through the purification incident on salt gathering or enemy killing (9). In others enemy killing was the qualification (25). Or

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

ECONOMICS

Poor as the Papago country was, its economics were those of abundance. Papago did not hoard property; they did not quarrel about land boundaries; they were constantly giving, as though from an inexhaustible supply. The answer is that the supply, meagre though it was from the modern point of view, was sufficient, for their simple needs and more.

Food was the principal gift and food will not keep in that hot country except in dehydrated form. Because of the migratory life, it must be left unguarded in storehouses and caches, subject to attack by animals or enemies. Better to dispose of any surplus while it was available and palatable and thus invest in good will! And anything but starvation rations was considered a surplus. The standard meal was corn meal gruel: luxuries much beyond that were donated with lavish hand and never missed.

Giving became the regular Papago investment and the franker individuals say so. It never reached the extravagant proportions demanded in the Plains for all Papago life was in a gentler key. But one who gained the reputation of stinginess had damned his prospects in village and family life while the lavish giver not only achieved honor but had a continual income pouring in. For all gifts were returned, in equal quantity and more. The constant exchange of goods in the form of gifts was the Papago equivalent for trade and merged only occasionally into trade in the stricter sense. Papago economics involves principally the study of groups which had gift relations.

The center of the system was the patriarchal family which, rather than the individual, must be taken as the unit both of property holding and of gift exchange.The family was a business concern, producing and disposing of goods under the direction of its male and female heads, and such production meant a full time occupation. This was not the sort of society where the men, when not hunting or fighting, had the privilege of leisure: the men were day laborers like the women. All rose with the morning star, rested in the heat of noon and did not stop work until dark.' It was slow motion labor, for the heat forbids haste. But it was unremitting. Industry was the prime virtue and no one could get a mate or keep one without it.

We have noted the division of labor between male and female: a division so sharp that it kept the two sexes in separate groups during

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

sometimes turned into a lascivious occasion. She and her husband, as a sign of intimacy, ate out of the same dish and deloused one another's hair.

The system of having the groom spend four nights at the bride's house was only for first marriages and if either party had been married before, it was omitted. When the groom was already the husband of the bride's older sister, there were no formalities. The bride's parents simply announced that their daughter was old enough, received his acquiescence and brought her to him. But parents often decided to offer a daughter to a man who had a wife not her sister or who was widowed or divorced. In that case they delayed to consult their relatives and instruct the girl but then took her to him without the preliminary four nights. If the man were still very young, the negotiations might be made with his family, otherwise with the man himself. Adult women also sometimes made their own arrangements but as a rule a widow or a divorced woman who returned to her family was disposed of by them like a young girl.

"We gave my son a wife when he was seventeen. Some people came to us and said, 'We have a daughter. She was married to a man but that man went away to the White school and when he came back, he did not take her. She is older than your son but she is industrious. She may be some help to him.' We said, 'It is true that she is older but we have seen her work. She may be a help.' So we told our son and he said nothing." (26)

A divorced woman thus recounted her experience after she had come back to her mother's house.

"A few days' later my uncle found out. He said, 'We cannot have this woman here with no one to care for her. We must find a husband.' So he went to an old man and proposed for me. I didn't say anything. No woman has a right to speak against the men of her family." (26)

MARITAL RELATIONS

All a man's wives lived in the same house. If they were sisters, it was said they always got along together; otherwise there might be quarrelling and he might build a separate house for one of them. The local tales abound in situations where a man had to divide his attention between two wives.

The pattern of female seclusion and modesty was entirely altered after marriage. Women might now go to the drinking ceremonies and to the girl's puberty dance which was the outstanding occasion for sex liberties. For couples to disappear into the darkness at these times was an accepted part of the performance. Women joked

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU2

Therefore she was frequently asked, and as a result the story has elaboration and emphasis at some points where she would not have placed hem, and it stops short where she would have found repetition comfortable. It is an Indian story told to satisfy Whites rather than Indians.

There were reasons other than intimacy and opportunity for chosing Chona as the narrator. She is not the aberrant type which so frequently attracts the attention of the White investigator. She accepted her culture completely, and one reason for choosing her was that she had come into contact with so many of its important phases. As a woman, she could take no active part in the ceremonial life. But her father was a governor and a warrior; her brother and one husband were shamans, her second husband was a song leader and composer. And a Papago woman's history is interesting in itself, because, in this culture, there persists strongly the fear of woman's impurity with all its consequent social adjustments.

Chona accepted her status without stress or rancor. She was, however, not the ideal Papago female type, for she was inclined to be independent and executive. In her old age, when such qualities were not taboo, she ruled her whole connection with a competent hand. In childhood she had a minor maladjustment, soon overcome: she started to make songs. Making songs is the Papago achievement *par excellence*, all outward acts being considered merely as a preparation for it. Chona was no poet by nature: she was, in fact, an executive. But she had some urge to accomplish, as the most accomplished, and the proper avenue was song making. So Chona made songs and saw visions, and had to have her shaman's crystals cut out by a minor operation.

She submitted, and found compensation in her life of child bearing and hard work. But in old age the urge came on her again, and again there was no outlet but visions. These later visions are pathetic in their lack of originality, and the songs which she assured me she had composed herself were often changed, only by a word or two, from songs which had been well known for years. Many Papago compose in this way, since song making is a *sine qua non* for success in life. None consider it plagiarism, for song making is the spiritual crown conferred on one who has already achieved in the physical world.

Chona, in her way, achieved. She learned a manipulation of sick babies which was much respected. Very possibly she had observed its performance by her first husband who was a shaman, but the Papago pattern did not allow her to recognize this: she had to dream it, and she did. She picked up other bits of practical medicine, and she had a dynamic personality which drew patients to her. In the end she did all that her culture would allow her toward satisfying her desires and she was not unhappy.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

In love, she again showed independence. For a shaman to have more than one wife was standard custom but Chona resented her co-wife. She felt "unnaturally" and against all precedent the same emotions that a White woman is expected to feel "naturally" in such a circumstance. The result was a minor rebellion, soon settled. Chona's life, on the whole, presents a fair picture of the crises which come to a Papago woman, heightened by a dynamic personality.

I

We lived at Mesquite Root and my father was chief there. That was a good place, high up among the hills, but flat, with a little wash where you could plant corn. Prickly pear grew there so thick that in summer, when you picked the fruit, it was only four steps from one bush to the next. And cholla cactus grew and there were ironwood trees. Good nuts they have! There were birds flying around, doves and woodpeckers, and a big rabbit sometimes in the early morning, and quails running across the flat land. Right above us was Quijotoa Mountain, the one where the cloud stands up high and white when we sing for rain.

We lived in a grass house and our relatives, all around us on the smooth flat land, had houses that were the same. Round our houses were, with no smoke hole and just a little door where you crawled in on hands and knees. That was good. The smoke could go out anywhere through the thatch and the air could come in. All our family slept on cactus fibre mats against the wall, pushed tight against it so centipedes and scorpions could not crawl in. There was a mat for each two children, but no, nothing over us. When we were cold, we put wood on the fire.

Early in the morning, in the month of Pleasant Cold, when we had all slept in the house to keep warm, we would wake in the dark to hear my father speaking.

"Open your ears, for I am telling you a good thing. Wake up and listen. Open your ears. Let my words enter them." He spoke in a low voice, so quiet in the dark. Always our fathers spoke to us like that, so low that you thought you were dreaming.

"Wake up and listen. You boys, you should go out and run. So you will be swift in time of war. You girls, you should grind the corn. So you will feed the men and they will fight the enemy. You should practise running. So, in time of war, you may save your lives."

For a long time my father talked to us like that, for he began when it was black dark. I went to sleep, and then he pinched my ear. "Wake up! Do not be idle!"

Then we got up. It was the time we call morning-stands-up, when it is

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

X 159 684 He sent for the husband. "Do you beat her?" "Yes," said the man. He was a young man. I remember how he looked at the woman, his wife, while he stood there. "Yes, I beat her. But I want her with me. I'm jealous. I beat her because I think she looks at other men." "I don't look at other men," said the woman crying. So her husband said very quickly: "Oh, I want her back. It's all right." "Will you stop beating her?" "Yes, yes." The woman said: "But he has beaten me already. Many times and for nothing. Let him pay me." "How?" "With his body," said the woman. "Let him be beaten as I was beaten." My father thought about that and he said: "All right. How many stripes?" "Fifty." "You want to kill him," said my father. "I'll make it twenty." So the man knelt down and took off his shirt. The chief did not beat wrong doers himself. He had a messenger who was called the Chief's Leg. That Leg was a man who meant much to me later on. He took the rawhide whip to beat the man, but he did not raise too many welts. Men are sorry for each other.

Another time a father came with his daughter. "This girl will not lie with the man to whom I gave her." My father looked at the new husband who had come, too, and he thought he seemed a good man. "Is it true?" my father said to the girl. "Don't you want this man?" "Yes, it's true I'm afraid." "Well, we'll beat you. Then you can decide." So they tied her hands and the girl whimpered: "I'll take him." "Take her by the hand," my father told the husband, "and lead her home. If she misbehaves, come back."

X 159 I thought about that girl sometimes and I thought I would have been [562] afraid, too. Then I asked my mother, though I did not tell her how I was feeling. My mother said: "It's right to be afraid of men. All good girls are."

X 159 593 We girls never saw men except our brothers. And our brothers kept away from us now we were almost maidens. They said that sometime we might become maidens suddenly and then if they touched anything that we had touched, it would take away their strength. So the boys did not play with us any more.

X 159 [805] [832] But I used to think about boys when I was—let me see, we do not count our ages—thirteen. Sometimes I thought I heard flutes at night. I do not know if it was really boys playing them or if I only dreamed it. But the music drove me wild. The flute is what our boys play when they want a woman to come to them and I wanted to go.

X 159 674 676 934 But my father said to me: "Never talk to a man alone. If one comes to the house when there is no one there but you, then offer him food. If he is a relative, say: 'Wait till I cook you something.' Even if he is a stranger, say: 'You had better eat.' But do not talk while you feed him. And if you have nothing in the house tell him quickly so he will go away and not wait, expecting."

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

PERSONAL RELATIONS IN THE HOUSEHOLD

611 593 Papago society is patriarchal; there is always a recognized "head of the house," and his identity is never in doubt. In a typical household of three generations, the grandfather holds authority over the group, and each married son is the head of his own family. If the grandfather grows too old for active responsibility, his authority passes gradually into the hands of the son who is generally acknowledged to be the ablest—not necessarily the eldest. If the old man dies, his wife becomes titular head of the house, but she may depend upon her sons for decisions. The Papago do not practice primogeniture, and the seniority pattern is not rigid. Although the head of the house always has the final word, he has a strong obligation to solicit and consider carefully the opinions of all the other family members before final decisions are made. Even little children may be consulted in things which concern them directly, and a child's decision as to whether he wishes to go to school or to the hospital is seldom questioned. Thus there is much give-and-take in household relationships, and final decisions on family matters usually represent the opinion of the group.

561 Certain deferences are almost unfailingly observed. Foremost among these is respect for elders. Seniority automatically conveys authority; the child obeys his parents, but he must also defer to his older brothers and sisters. Nor is this merely a pattern for young children. Each person in the family seems to have some authority over all those younger than himself; unmarried daughters living in the household, even if they are over thirty, pay decided deference to their parents and older brothers and sisters and discuss any important matter with them. The young men do the same, but they have more freedom of decision than their sisters.

● 562 [611] Men as a rule have greater prestige and authority than women. Descent is reckoned through the male line, and inheritance is from the father. Older brothers have more authority than older sisters, and all boys expect their sisters to wait upon them in the home. It is felt that a woman should not travel outside her village unless she is escorted by a man of her family,[6] presumably to protect her from the advances of other men. Men usually receive and spend the family's cash income. Even if a woman has a strong personality and actually makes decisions, the man is always the family spokesman, and the woman will disclaim authority, at least in public. A telling rebuke to a wife is "Do you think you are the head of the house?" Women are free to become "medicine men," but few do; neither do they hold village offices nor pa[illegible]i-

6. This custom is gradually being modified in the East.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

pate in the village council. The rare occasions when a woman does contest an issue with men are the subject of comment by both sexes: "And she was telling them what should be done, and she a woman, telling men! How could she know about it? It is the men who know those things."

Yet women are not relegated to an inferior position; they are never ordered about and are never servile toward men. The attitude of both sexes is simply that their duties and spheres of authority and influence are different. It is possible that this pattern is changing and that women will come to have more status in spheres now dominated by men. Increasingly women are working outside the home and so are becoming financially more independent of men. The tribal constitution does not disqualify women as voters, but no woman voted in the election by which it was approved. There are no positive prohibitions upon women's participation in political matters, but they have shown no interest in politics, although Papago society is sufficiently elastic to allow it. So far, however, the old customs hold, and the spheres of men and women have not converged to the same extent as in white society in the United States.

One other practice with regard to women should be mentioned. In the old days menstruating women were greatly feared. Their touch was thought to weaken a man and blight any project in which he was engaged. Women were obliged to segregate themselves each month in a hut built for the purpose, on pain of bringing supernatural punishment upon their families or on the whole village.[7] Segregation is not the rule in most parts of the Reservation today, but in some of the more conservative families it is still practiced.

In both the household and the village, approval of the group is the primary inducement to conformity with the patterns indicated above. Moral discussions and tales told by the older family members make clear to everyone that he is expected to fulfil his economic obligations to the family and to comply with the customs of the household. The person who fails to conform to these standards is made aware of the disapproval of others by criticism, ridicule, or denial of privileges. A big child who tries to sit on an aunt's lap is gently laughed or teased out of the notion. Involuntary exposure of the genitals brings ridicule by brothers and sisters until the child develops an acute sense of modesty. Quarrelsome children lose treasured privileges. Both young and old are sternly lectured by the eldest members of the household if they do not abide by its patterns. The same sanctions are applied by persons outside the family group. "People will talk" is an ever present and powerful inducement to live up to

7. A tale is told of a woman in a segregation hut who saw the approach of Apache raiders but who was so strongly imbued with the taboo that she would not leave her hut to warn the village.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

Chapter X

THE CHILD FROM ELEVEN TO EIGHTEEN

882 BETWEEN the ages of eleven and eighteen the Papago child enjoys near-adult status. The change takes place gradually, but beginning about the eleventh year—even before he is physically mature—he begins to put away childish things. The eleven-year-old no longer takes part in active play. Toys of all sorts lose their appeal for him. He ceases to be interested in play that imitates adult pursuits; if he cannot participate in real activities, he wants no make-believe. At this age, girls and boys dissociate themselves from younger children and disdain to join them as equals in play groups; instead they make an obvious effort to identify themselves with adults, particularly those in their early twenties. To a large extent the eleven-year-olds assume the deliberate, unhurried physical bearing of the mature Papago. No longer do they scuffle, run, or skip—those things are for children.

Before the end of the adolescent period, a young person is accorded several rights that anticipate adult status: he is granted more personal freedom, is given a full share of the family work to do, is sometimes intrusted with money to do the household buying, and has money and property of his own in the form of cattle.

882 562 At about this time the child becomes fully aware of a third guiding principle in Papago life. From infancy he has known that little children must be kept happy. As he grew older, he had his first taste of the responsibilities and privileges of the authority that comes with age. He now becomes fully aware that in most matters the male is superior to the female.

This notion is not new to the child. Between five and ten the Papago boy has been much freer to roam away from home than has his sister. Children know that their mothers go nowhere outside the village without being escorted by a man and that most of the money in the family is in the men's hands. They also may have noticed, at Magdalena and elsewhere, the futility of their mother's concern over their father's drunkenness.

4: Joseph et al. D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

THE CHILD FROM ELEVEN TO EIGHTEEN

At adolescence, however, the general dominance of the male becomes very clear. Though a young man's authority may be held in check by the seniority rule, boys are free to come and go as they please when their help is not needed in farming or herding, and they may begin to work for wages. They expect their sisters and the other women of the household to feed them and keep their clothes clean for them at home.

Adult women have much less control over a boy when he reaches adolescence. He is sometimes asked—never commanded—to do some household chore which requires strength, but his compliance is regarded as a favor. He associates almost completely with men or boys his own age; women no longer have much to say about where he goes and how he conducts himself, whether or not he should go drinking or courting. His mother and grandmother may lecture or try to persuade him, but he will not necessarily do as they wish unless the father or grandfather backs them up. Yet the boy has affection and respect for his mother and grandmother, and their influence, though perhaps indirect, is strong.

At home the adolescent girl joins freely in conversation with her brothers and other male relatives. She understands that a woman's duties include supplying men with meals and clean clothes, and these tasks she expects to do unassisted should the occasion arise. She depends on the men to take her to town or to fiestas; she considers them kind and generous if they do, and she hopes that her future husband will be as good to her. But a girl does not complain if the men make five trips to her one; because they are men, that is to be expected. She is respectful to her father and grandfather and affectionate as well, though demonstrating this affection would be thought in bad taste. With all the men of the household the girl is completely casual, although she would not leave the environs with any of them unless another woman were with her.

Even the newly acquired rights of boys and girls increase their responsibility to the family. By the time the Papago child is adolescent and can make more decisions for himself, he is conditioned to make these decisions not in terms of his own desires alone but in terms of the welfare of the whole household. If his judgments are unwise, his elders' question, "What will people think?" does not mean "think of you" but "think of us all." He is constantly reminded of his role as a member of a functioning family unit.

THE GIRL BECOMES A WOMAN

In the old days the Papago girl during one period in her life was the center of family interest and activity. This was at the time of her first menstruation, which signalized her readiness for marriage. During this time the girl was

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

983 always get odd jobs, such as mowing lawns, in the cities. Almost every youth
464 in the western districts works at the Ajo mine at sometime between the ages
[465] of eighteen and thirty. Here at unskilled labor he can earn $3.00 a day; in war-time wages ran as high as $7.00.

893 Papago youth in mines, in cotton fields, or on ranches work side by side with
466 other Indians or Mexicans and have little direct contact with whites. White
563 employers treat the Indians with friendliness and often make concessions to retain good workers, but away from work the Indians live together or with Mexicans and Chinese in the poorer quarters of the city, so that it is the lower strata of economic life in Arizona with which they become familiar. They do not, however, experience some of the discriminations endured by minority groups in many parts of the country: most cafes serve Indians, and they are not segregated at the movies and other public places.

883 Young people working off the Reservation are relatively free from family
593 influence, and, though many send part of their wages home, they still have
273 much more money to spend than they ever had before. Now and then girls on
[578] their own in the city drift into trouble and are sent home, but they seldom become recognized prostitutes. Boys are likely to spend a good deal of their new-found wealth on liquor; their families at home expect the boys to do some drinking, still they worry lest the lads become involved in brawls that will lead to the white man's jail.

883 The youth himself is terrified of the law. Instead of being reassured by the
671 supposedly impersonal and impartial character of white men's justice, he fears what seems to him its rigid inflexibility. If he does wrong at home, his family may lecture him or even call in the village elders to talk to him about the error of his ways, but the youth knows that he will be judged on his own merits and not on what is written down in a white man's book. Most important, he will not be shut up far from his family and his desert.

883 Sometimes young people marry when they leave the Reservation to take
582 jobs. By and large, however, they go for only short periods or at most a few years. Family ties may become tenuous, but they are seldom broken. The wage-earner usually sends money home and expects to return to the village some day.

GETTING READY FOR MARRIAGE

562 Papago boys and girls do not associate in unchaperoned groups, for the girls
[786] are kept under constant surveillance. In the old days a girl who went unaccompanied away from the house cluster was considered fair game for any man or boy. Even today in her home village a girl never goes anywhere alone, unless

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

it is the short distance to a neighboring house cluster, and then she is always in full sight of her relatives all the way. Even in twos or threes girls are forbidden to walk about the desert or to loiter where men are working.

In the old days marriages were arranged by families, and young people had little voice in the selection of partners. The concept of romantic love has been introduced by white schools, movies, and magazines, and today there is much more freedom of choice. But, as a rule, Papago girls and boys are still circumspect in public. Though adolescents do not play together at school, they have more opportunities there for talking together and flirting than at home. Eleven- and twelve-year-old boys tease the girls, trip them up, or take their books. Older lads are more likely to start a disturbance to gain the attention and admiration of some particular girl; they are seldom disappointed. On the other hand, some of the girls quite openly seek to attract masculine attention by slight misbehavior in the classroom, and they often linger on the playground to watch the boys' ball games, a delicate attention which is not unappreciated.

At fiestas a boy will dance oftener with the girl of his choice than with the other girls. Sometimes they escape into the darkness away from the dance ground for lovemaking.

How much sexual promiscuity takes place is difficult to determine, for the Papago are conscious that their standards differ from those of whites, and they do not talk freely on the subject. Sex affairs that are intended to result in marriage do not seem merely promiscuous to the Papago, and many "Indian-custom" marriages begin in just this way, often in the cotton fields, where chaperonage is difficult to maintain. For sex relations that are not a prelude to marriage, boys are seldom censured, but girls are blamed for "going off in the bushes." However, the girl seems to be less severely criticized if she gives birth to an illegitimate child; neither the child nor its mother suffers social stigma, and the situation seems not to affect the girl's chances for marriage.

The boy who wishes to pay formal court to a girl will find excuses to visit her home, ostensibly to see a male member of the family. Everyone knows why he is there and takes great, though courteously veiled, interest in the progress of the courtship. The girl can discourage her suitor by disappearing on the pretext of having a task to do elsewhere. If she likes the boy, she will remain in the room while he is in the house; eventually he will find a way to propose, and they will announce to their parents that they intend to marry. They begin living together at once or soon afterward—usually in the household of the groom—and, whether or not a wedding ceremony is performed, are thenceforth regarded as man and wife. They have taken their places in the world of adults.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

die from it, having acquired it through contagion. Although in no way a prison as to its restrictions, nevertheless the school as at present conducted does them harm physically. The confinement to which they have not been accustomed seems to undermine their health. In these days of advanced methods of teaching some remedy for this condition no doubt will be found. One absolutely necessary change is to alter the construction of the school-houses so as to make them sanitary through unlimited access of air. Even the Presbyterian Mission, which has been of considerable benefit to the Indian, has erected outside of Tucson incredibly inappropriate buildings, made of brick and substantial, to be sure, but singularly out of place in the glare and heat of the Arizona desert. Prof. R. H. Forbes, of Arizona University, told me that in the White Mountain Apache school, at White River, ninety per cent of the children have tuberculosis, chiefly glandular. This statement was made to him by the physician in charge. Would it not be better to leave the Indians uneducated than to proceed in this manner?

Not long ago the makai (medicine-men) had as many as five wives each, while the usual number for the ordinary man was two. At present it is very rare to find a Papago with more than one wife, and the average number of children in a family is usually no less than eight, but the mortality among infants is great. The position of woman is equality with man. To be sure, the man never carries burdens—that is relegated to the woman's domain—but she is the mistress of the house. She is,

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

562 in fact, the "boss" of the household and gives her husband as well as her child his portion of food. She is systematic, while the man, in whom the characteristics of the hunter still survive, has little or no order. Her vigilant eyes look after everything and she is consulted in all transactions. The dogs follow the woman and belong to her, the husband rarely speaking to them.

[422]

581 Sometimes a young man will marry a woman more than old enough to be his mother since, under the changed conditions of the tribe, many of the young fellows do not know how to take care of themselves. He may work for an elderly woman who owns cattle and behave so much to her satisfaction that marriage results, and women have in this way been known to make manly men out of flippant youngsters. The children are treated kindly by the parents and are kind to each other.

[855]

584 Formerly a bamboo flute was played by a young man, especially in the evening, to attract the attention of a girl, though the ultimate choice of a partner rested with his father and mother. Up to recent times the sons were obedient to their parents and readily consented to marry the girls picked out for them. A son was instructed how to behave in order to find favor with a nice girl with whom appearances weigh little compared to the noble qualities of being a good hunter, not lazy, and an efficient agriculturist. It is the girl's father who makes the first advances in a matrimonial venture. He talks the matter over with the father of the boy who, however, sometimes may decline. But if the father is able to say that his son is willing, the latter betakes him-

[534]

162
871
464

Similar correlations between education and employment apply to workers who have had at least one year in high school. The proportion for the entire administrative population, 19 years of age and older, is 28%. The proportion for on-reservation wage workers is 49%, for unskilled off-reservation wage workers it is 39% and for skilled off-reservation wage workers it is more than 61%.

Papagos who work off the reservation at more or less full time jobs are better educated than those who work on the reservation. The comparative percentages are in table 21.

Table 21. Papago Administrative Population by Place of Employment and Education. Individuals 19 and over, 1959.

Place of Employment	No Education	1-4 Years	5-8 Years	9-12 Years	College	Vocational
On Reservation						
Agricultural	17.3	28.7	35.8	17.3	0.7	0.0
Non-Agricultural	3.0	10.7	36.9	45.2	1.8	2.4
On & Off Reservation						
Agricultural	22.6	30.1	40.4	6.8	0.0	0.0
Off Reservation						
Agricultural						
Seasonal	21.2	32.8	34.0	12.0	0.0	0.0
Permanent	10.1	23.8	51.5	13.9	0.7	0.0
Non-Agricultural						
Unskilled	2.7	10.0	48.2	37.8	0.8	0.6
Skilled	1.4	5.5	11.0	61.6	13.7	6.8

162
871
562
462
464

The differences in level of education between men and women is very slight and for various categories of employment the numbers involved are too small to have any great significance. Men in off-reservation skilled work are, on the whole, better educated than women in the same category with 84% of the men and 78% of the women having better than a ninth grade education. The numbers involved are 42 and 18 respectively. Housewives are better educated than the average

Papago woman and this is probably due, as might be expected, to the lack of education found among the women who must support themselves or help support their families in seasonal agricultural work. Women engaged in non-agricultural wage work, which includes the woman who work as domestics, are the best educated.

Employment and Age. The significant age differences in employment are given in Table 22. Contrary to heretofore inconclusive evidence, Papagos under forty hold more jobs in off-reservation wage work (agriculture and non-agriculture) in proportion to their numbers than do the older men. The unemployed, however, are definitely younger men: 6.3% as compared to 4.0%. Unearned income (usually welfare) goes to the older people, 17.6% as against 2.4%. There is little or no sex difference in this category.

There is a very high proportion of Papagos over 65 who are receiving unearned income (usually Old Age Assistance): 206 out of a total of 343 (57%).

Table 22. Papago Administrative Population Employment by Age. Individuals 19 Years and Over, 1939.

Type of Employment or Income	Under Forty			Over Forty		
	Total	Number	%	Total	Number	%
Reservation Agriculture	2540	115	4.5	1907	155	8.1
Reservation Wage Work	2540	72	2.8	1907	46	2.4
Off Reservation Wages	2540	1065	41.9	1907	634	33.2
Unemployed	2540	160	6.3	1907	77	4.0
Unearned Income	2540	60	2.4	1907	335	17.6

Employment and Origin. In addition to a low average education, the Papago labor force has the added disadvantage of little or no childhood experience in areas where young people normally have a wide variety of jobs. Approximately 86% of the present Papago labor force originated on the three reservations where opportunities for earning money at odd jobs are practically non-existent. Boys and girls on the reservations, of course, help their families in the home and on